

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 158062

EXDIS FOR AMB. YOUNG FROM UNA

FOLLOWING REPEAT CAIRO 15503 SENT ACTION SECSTATE JUNE 21.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L CAIRO 15503

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: PEPR EG

SUBJECT: SADAT MEETING WITH ANDREW MILLER

SUMMARY. SADAT TELLS VIRGINIA SENATORIAL CANDIDATE MILLER THAT HE HAD FOUND ISRAELI ANSWERS TO U.S. QUESTIONS AS ANTICIPATED; ISRAELIS REFUSE TO BE PRECISE OR MAKE COMMITMENTS. NEVERTHELESS, HE REMAINS OPTIMISTIC. HIS PROPOSAL FOR TURNOVER OF WEST BANK AND GAZA TO JORDAN AND EGYPT HAD BEEN MADE TO "FACILITATE JOB OF PRESIDENT CARTER" AND BECAUSE HE, SADAT, "TRYING TO ANSWER EVERY ARGUMENT BEGIN MAKES." ALTHOUGH SADAT DID NOT WANT IT KNOWN NOW, HE WOULD AGREE TO COMPLETE DEMILITARIZATION OF WEST BANK AND GAZA. IF ISRAELIS WERE TO LEARN THIS, CONFIDENTIAL

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THEY WOULD TAKE IT AND BARGAIN FOR MORE. TO ASSURE ISRAELI SECURITY, HE REITERATED HIS SIX POINTS, STRESSING THAT NUMBER 6 ("OPEN BORDERS, NORMAL RELATIONS AND GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS") IS BEST POSSIBLE GUARANTEE FOR ISRAEL. ASKED ABOUT U.S. ROLE, SADAT SAID IT SHOULD BE AS "FULL PARTNER" IN NEGOTIATIONS AND PUTTING FORWARD AMERICAN PROPOSALS AS "HENRY" HAD DONE. "AS LONG AS ISRAELIS BELIEVE THEY HAVE BACKING OF U.S. THEY WILL NOT PAY ATTENTION TO UN OR ANYONE ELSE." SADAT WILL BACK WHATEVER PRESIDENT CARTER PROPOSES. WHENEVER ISRAEL

PUTS FORWARD NEW ELEMENTS EGYPT IS READY TO RENEW DIRECT
NEGOTIATIONS (WITH U.S. AS A WITNESS). U.S. SHOULD TAKE
TOUGH STAND AGAINST SOVIET-CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA. .
END SUMMARY.

1. PRESIDENT SADAT MET WITH VIRGINIA DEMOCRATIC
SENATORIAL CANDIDATE ANDREW MILLER FOR FORTY MINUTES
JUNE 20 IMMEDIATELY AFTER GIVING TWO-HOUR ADDRESS TO
ASU CENTRAL COMMITTEE. VP MUBARAK, MILLER AIDE TAZEWELL
AND POLCOUNS ALSO PRESENT. SADAT BEGAN BY COMMENTING
ON HIS SPEECH, SAYING THAT IT HAD BEEN NECESSARY BECAUSE
OF EFFORTS OF SOME TO SABOTAGE DEMOCRACY IN EGYPT. EGYPT
HAS DEMOCRACY AND MULTIPARTY SYSTEM AND WILL CONTINUE TO
HAVE. PROBLEM IS ONE OF CONDUCT AND DORALITY BY, AMONG
OTHERS, "AGENTS OF MOSCOW". THE EGYPTIAN STATE IS 7000
YEARS OLD AND DESERVES A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM, BUT HE WILL
NOT ACCEPT ABUSES OF DEMOCRACY.

2. MR. MILLER EXPLAINED FACT-FINDING NATURE OF HIS TRIP
TO EGYPT AND ISRAEL. HE ASKED WHAT SADAT SAW AS NEXT
STEP IN PEACE PROCESS? SADAT SAID HE HAD BEEN WAITING
FOR ISRAELI ANSWERS TO U.S. QUESTIONS ON DISPOSITION OF
WEST BANK AND GAZA BECAUSE THIS IS "CRUX OF THE PROBLEM",
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NOT SINAI. HE REFERRED TO LAST MEETING WITH WEIZMAN AND
LATTER'S OFFER OF SEPARATE AGREEMENT. (PRESIDENT
COMMENTED PARENTHETICALLY ON WEIZMAN'S RECENT REMARK
ABOUT PREPARING ARMY FOR NEXT WAR BECAUSE THINGS HOPELESS
WITH BEGIN, IMPLYING HE DID NOT TAKE REMARK SERIOUSLY
SINCE HE KNOWS WEIZMAN WELL.) HE HAD TOLD WEIZMAN IN
RESPONSE TO SEPARATE PEACE OFFER THAT, EVEN IF ISRAEL
SIGNED PEACE TREATIES WITH EGYPT, JORDAN AND SYRIA, THERE
WOULD BE ANOTHER WAR IN FIVE OR TEN YEARS IF PALESTINIAN
PROBLEM NOT RESOLVED. SADAT SAID HE HAD READ ISRAELI
ANSWERS AND FOUND THEM AS ANTICIPATED. ISRAELIS REFUSED
TO BE PRECISE OR TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO ANYTHING. THEY
ALWAYS TAKE ANY CONCESSIONS OFFERED AND THEN WANT MORE.
NEVERTHELESS, AS HE HAD TOLD HIS PEOPLE, HE REMAINS
"OPTIMISTIC".

3. MILLER ASKED WHAT WAS SADAT'S PURPOSE IN MAKING
PROPOSAL FOR TURNING OVER WEST BANK AND GAZA TO JORDAN
AND EGYPT? PRESIDENT SAID FIRST PURPOSE HAD BEEN TO
"FACILITATE THE JOB OF PRESIDENT CARTER". MAJOR
OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS HAS ALWAYS BEEN ISRAELI FEAR OF SELF-
DETERMINATION FOR PALESTINIANS BECAUSE IT WOULD MEAN
PALESTINIAN STATE. SECOND REASON WAS THAT HE, SADAT,
"TRYING TO ANSWER EVERY ARGUMENT BEGIN MAKES". ISRAELIS
HAVE SAID SINCE LAST NOVEMBER THAT THEY DO NOT FEAR KING
HUSSEIN. HIS PROPOSAL WOULD RETURN AREA TO SITUATION
OF 1967 AND JORDAN, EGYPT AND ISRAEL WOULD THEN SIT DOWN

AND DISCUSS SECURITY AND PEACE. (SADAT SAID HE WOULD AGREE, ALTHOUGH HE WOULD NOT WANT IT KNOWN AT THIS TIME, THAT WEST BANK AND GAZA COULD BE COMPLETELY DEMILITARIZED.) SADAT SAID VP MUBARAK HAD DISCUSSED PROPOSAL WITH HUSSEIN AND INFORMED HIM THAT EGYPT HAS NO CLAIMS OF ANY KIND ON GAZA AND IF IT WERE TO GO WITH WEST BANK AND BE LINKED TO JORDAN, EGYPT WOULD AGREE. MUBARAK SAID HUSSEIN HAD BEEN "VERY PLEASED" WITH THIS EGYPTIAN POSITION. SADAT ADDED THAT THERE COULD BE CORRIDOR
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BETWEEN WEST BANK AND GAZA AND JORDAN COULD ALSO HAVE PORT ON MEDITERRANEAN. SADAT SAID HE HOPED JORDANIAN-EGYPTIAN CONTROL OVER WB/GAZA WOULD NOT LAST MORE THAN ONE YEAR BEFORE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WORKED OUT; FIVE YEARS WAS MAXIMUM. HIS MAIN PURPOSE IS TO END ISRAELI OCCUPATION AND HE WILL GUARANTEE PEACE AND SECURITY FOR ISRAEL.

4. SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS. MILLER ASKED WHO AND HOW SECURITY WOULD BE GUARANTEED FOR ISRAEL? SADAT SAID HE HAD COVERED THIS IN DETAIL WITH HIS SIX-POINT PROPOSAL WHICH HE REITERATED AS (A) DMZ'S ON BORDERS WITH UN FORCES; (B) EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS ON BOTH SIDES UNDER UN AUSPICES (ALTHOUGH HE DOES NOT WANT TO OFFICIALLY SAY SO NOW, HE WANTS U.S. TO MAN THEM SINCE HE WANTS U.S. AS "WITNESS"); (C) LIMITED ARMAMENTS ZONE; (D) JOINT COMMITTEE TO MEET IN AL ARISH AND BEERSHIBA; (E) FREE TRANSIT THROUGH GULF OF AQABA (ALBEIT BAB AL MANDEB CLOSURE IN 1973 RENDERED THIS IRRELEVANT); AND (F) "MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL OPEN BORDERS, NORMAL RELATIONS AND GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS IN ALL ITS ASPECTS." THIS IS "BEST POSSIBLE GUARANTEE" FOR ISRAEL TOGETHER WITH MUTUAL DEFENSE PACT WITH U.S., WHICH IT CAN ALSO HAVE.

5. MILLER ASKED IF SADAT WOULD AGREE TO DEMILITARIZE ALL OF GAZA AND WEST BANK? SADAT SAID HE WOULD AGREE 100 PERCENT TO DO THIS, BUT DID NOT WISH IT TO BE PUBLISHED OR KNOWN TO ISRAELIS AT THIS TIME. IF ISRAELIS WERE TO LEARN IT THEY WOULD TAKE IT AND THEN BARGAIN FOR MORE. EVEN IF THERE SHOULD BE A PALESTINIAN STATE, SADAT WOULD AGREE IT BE DEMILITARIZED. (MUBARAK INTERJECTED THAT HE HAD NOT SPECIFICALLY DISCUSSED DEMILITARIZATION OF WEST BANK WITH HUSSEIN.)
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6. U.S. ROLE. IN LIGHT ISRAELI RESPONSE TO U.S. QUESTIONS, MILLER ASKED, WHAT SHOULD U.S. DO NOW? SADAT SAID HE HAD TOLD PRESIDENT CARTER IN APRIL AT CAMP DAVID AND REPEATED IT SINCE THAT U.S. SHOULD BE A "FULL

PARTNER" IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS MEANT IT SHOULD ACT IN THE WAY THAT "HENRY" HAD DURING SINAI I NEGOTIATIONS. THERE HAD BEEN VERY TENSE SITUATION WITH TROOPS STILL IN PLACE AND A DEADLOCK REACHED. HENRY HAD INFORMED SADAT AND ASKED WHAT WAS TO BE DONE. SADAT HAD SUGGESTED AN AMERICAN COMPROMISE PROPOSAL BECAUSE HE KNEW ISRAEL COULD NOT REFUSE TO CARRY IT OUT FOR IT WAS COMPLETELY DEPENDENT UPON U.S. FOR REBUILDING OF ITS ARMY. "YOU KNOW HENRY, HE HAS GUTS," AND HE CAME FORWARD WITH PROPOSAL THAT ENABLED AGREEMENT TO BE REACHED. IT IS NOW QUITE OBVIOUS THAT "EGYPT IS READY FOR PEACE, NORMALITY AND EVERYTHING." BEGIN, HOWEVER, IS ONE OF OLD GUARD AND "HE CAN'T CHANGE NOW. AS LONG AS ISRAELIS BELIEVE THEY HAVE US BACKING THEY WILL PAY NO ATTENTION TO THE UN OR ANYONE ELSE." MILLER ASKED IF NOW WAS TIME FOR AMERICA TO MAKE NEW PROPOSAL? SADAT SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO BE QUOTED, BUT "YES." WHATEVER CARTER PLAN IS "I AM READY TO DISCUSS IT AND I WILL BACK IT." WHENEVER ISRAEL PUTS FORWARD NEW ELEMENTS EGYPT IS READY TO REVIEW DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. BUT THE PRESIDENT SAID "I ALWAYS WANT YOU AS A WITNESS."

7. MILLER SAID PRESIDENT SADAT'S TRIP TO JERUSALEM HAD CAPTURED IMAGINATION OF AMERICAN PEOPLE AND MADE SUCH ACTIONS AS THE PLANE SALE POSSIBLE. SADAT FULLY AGREED AND SAID THAT IN PAST ARABS HAD BEEN LUCKY TO HAVE FIVE SENATORS SUPPORTING THEM. NOW THEY HAD HAD FIFTY-FDUR. HE SINGLED OUT SENATOR RIBICOFF FOR SPECIAL PRAISE AND SAID HE IS A "VERY TRUE MAN WHO HAS GUTS." SADAT SAID HIS INITIATIVE IS STILL ALIVE AND IT IS BRINGING NEW AND FAVORABLE DIMENSIONS TO THE PEACE PROCESS SUCH
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AS THE ARMS SALE. "SOME ARABS DO NOT UNDERSTAND THIS OR DO NOT WANT TO, BUT THESE NEW DIMENSIONS WILL EVENTUALLY BRING PEACE TO THE AREA."

8. ETHIOPIA. MR. MILLER ASKED HOW SADAT VIEWED SITUATION IN ETHIOPIA AND WHAT U.S. ROLE SHOULD BE? SADAT SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED HORN WITH PRESIDENT CARTER AND CONGRESS IN APRIL 1977 AND AGAIN IN FEBRUARY 1978. HE SAID U.S. THESE DAYS TAKING AN EXTREME STANCE AS PART OF VIETNAM COMPLEX. EITHER GREAT AMOUNTS OF MEN AND MATERIEL ARE SENT OR IT STAYS OUT ALL TOGETHER WITH ARMS FOLDED. WHAT IS HAPPENING IN ETHIOPIA IS NATURAL FOLLOW ON TO ANGOLA, AND SUDAN AND EGYPT WILL BE NEXT. . A "VERY CRUCIAL" EVENT WAS WHEN SOVIETS SENT SOLDIERS TO ETHIOPIA, SOMETHING THEY HAD NEVER BEFORE DONE OUTSIDE OF EASTERN EUROPE. THIS HAS CREATED "VERY DANGEROUS SITUATION". THERE IS NOW A BLOC OF STATES COMPRISING EGYPT, MOROCCO, IRAN AND SAUDI ARABIA AND THE SOVIETS ARE CREATING A BELT OF PDRY, LIBYA, IRAQ

AND ALGERIA AND A SECOND BELT IN AFRICA OF ANGOLA,
TANZANIA AND OTHERS. EGYPT CANNOT ALLOW THESE TWO BELTS
TO TIGHTEN, BUT MUST CHECK THEM. NO ONE IS ASKING U.S.
TO SEND TROOPS AND IF ASKED IT SHOULD NOT SEND THEM.
AFRICANS MUST FIGHT THEIR OWN BATTLES, BUT U.S. SHOULD
NOT APPLY ARMS EMBARGO AS USSR TO EGYPT. SADAT
REFERRED TO EARLIER SIAD REQUEST THAT EGYPT TAKE OVER
AND DEFEND BERBERA. HE WOULD HAVE DONE SO IF ONLY
ENEMY WERE ETHIOPIA BUT HE CANNOT TAKE ON USSR. HE
AND SAUDIS HAD PUT PRESSURE ON SIAD TO EXPELL SOVIETS.
IT IS NOT TOO LATE TO SAVE SOMALIA AND DJIBOUTIU (WHICH
IS THE NEXT TARGET) AND GET RID OF SOVIETS AND CUBANS,
BUT AFRICANS MUST HAVE THE POWER TO HIT THEM, NOT BY
INVADING OGADEN BUT BY MAKING SOMALIA-DJIBOUTI-SUDAN
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STRONG ENOUGH SO THAT WHENEVER ETHIOPIANS-CUBANS-SOVIETS
HIT OUT, "WE CAN STRIKE BACK." IN ERITREA THERE IS
NOW A CONFLICT BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOVIETS AND CUBANS.
SADAT HAD NOT HEARD OFFICIALLY, BUT HE UNDERSTOOD CARTER
HAD TOLD SOVIETS NOT TO GO IN. SHOULD U.S. TAKE DECI-
SIVE ACTION SOVIETS WILL LEAVE. ONLY THING SOVIETS AND
CUBANS UNDERSTAND IS POWER.

9. MR. MILLER HAS APPROVED THIS MESSAGE AND HAS TAKEN
A COPY WITH HIM. EILTS
UNQUOTE VANCE

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